

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 PARIS 37459

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: FR, PINT, PGOV
SUBJECT: SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS -- PREPARING FOR
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ELECTION EVE

SUMMARY: HOW GOES THE UNION OF THE LEFT? RATHER WELL,
ALL THINGS CONSIDERED -- ITS COHESION, AT LEAST IN THE
PUBLIC EYE, IS GOOD; ITS PARTNERS ARE MAINTAINING, MORE
OR LESS, THEIR COMMITMENTS TO EACH OTHER; IT WILL PROBA-

BLY BE ABLE TO REACH ACCORD ON COMMON LISTS OF CANDIDATES FOR THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS ONLY FOUR MONTHS AWAY, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES ON POLICY ISSUES. WHAT HAS THAT RELATIVE COHESION COST THE MAJOR PARTNERS? FOR THE PCF IT'S BEEN A PROCESS WHEREBY GEORGES MARCHAIS HAS HAD TO MAKE ONLY MINOR ADJUSTMENTS IN FAVOR OF A HARDER LINE; FOR THE PS, CAUGHT BETWEEN THE NEED TO PRESENT A MORE RESPONSIBLE PUBLIC IMAGE THAN THE PCF WHILE STILL KEEPING ITS CREDENTIALS ON THE LEFT, THE PROCESS HAS MEANT SOME FURTHER FACTIONALIZATION, WHICH HURTS MITTERRAND. THE JUNIOR PARTNER IN THE UNION, THE LEFT RADICALS (MRG), IS WORKING HARD TO GET ITS CANDIDATES ONTO MORE LISTS, ARGUING THAT IT CAN SERVE THE ROLE OF A "HINGE PARTY" IN PROMOTING DEFECTIONS FROM THE CENTER. END SUMMARY.

1. A CHECK-LIST OF ISSUES: WHAT CURRENTLY DIVIDES THE UNION OF THE LEFT, ONCE THE SOMEWHAT CHIMERIC ISSUES OF COMPOSING MUNICIPAL LISTS HAVE BEEN PENETRATED (SEE BELOW), ARE A NUMBER OF MAJOR POLICY ISSUES ON WHICH THE TWO SENIOR PARTNERS ARE NOT NOW IN ACCORD AND ON WHICH THEY SEEM TO BE UNABLE TO RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES. SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE ISSUES ARE:

- EUROPE: THE PCF, AIDED MIGHTILY BY THE PS LEFT WING (CERES) AND BY THE NEW ANTI-EUROPEAN PS FACTION HEADED BY SAONE-ET-LOIRE DEPUTY PIERRE JOXE, BELIEVES THAT ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS IS A SIGN OF FRENCH ASSENT TO EUROPE DOMINATED BY

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THE US THROUGH AN INTERPOSED COMBINATION OF MNCS AND THE FRG. THE PS, ON THE OTHER HAND, VOTED FOR THE BUDGET BILL OF THE EC PARLIAMENT ON DECEMBER 7 (PARIS 36479).

- DEFENSE: WHERE THE PS MAKES NO BONES ABOUT ITS BELIEF IN THE EFFICACY OF AND NECESSITY FOR A FRENCH NUCLEAR DEFENSE FORCE, THE PCF HAS NOT YET MADE A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRONOUNCEMENT ON THIS POINT (SEE PARIS 35047), ALTHOUGH IT HAS GIVEN AT LEAST TWO OF ITS MORE POPULAR "LIBERAL" SPOKESMEN ROOM TO MAKE WHAT HAVE APPEARED TO BE PRO-NATO NOISES AND, AT LEAST IN ONE CASE, TO ACCEPT THE FRENCH NUCLEAR DETERRENT.
- NATIONALIZATIONS: WHILE BOTH PARTIES MAKE PUBLIC PROCLAMATIONS OF THEIR DESIRE TO STICK TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE COMMON PROGRAM ON NATIONALIZATIONS, SHOULD THEY COME TO PO-

WER, A MAJOR BONE OF CONTENTION BETWEEN PS AND PCF HAS TO DO WITH HOW QUICKLY THIS TASK IS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED. MITTERRAND HAS BEEN TELLING PRESS AND DIPLOMATIC OBSERVERS LATELY THAT HE BELIEVES NATIONALIZATIONS SHOULD BE STAGED OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME; MAR-CHAIS INSISTS THAT NATIONALIZATIONS AND THE INSTALLATION OF A COMMON PROGRAM GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE SEPARATED IN TIME.

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-- NATO: ALTHOUGH THE PCF HAS RECENTLY BEEN
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ALLOWING SOME OF ITS SPOKESMEN TO FIT THEMSELVES INTO EURO-COMMUNISM'S MOLD BY ARGUING THAT NATO IS IN SOME WAY A GUARANTEE THAT THE FRENCH CAN VOTE LEFT WITHOUT RISKING THEIR SECURITY, MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THE PCF AS A WHOLE HAS CHANGED VERY LITTLE ON THIS POINT. IT DOES NOT TRUST IN NATO, DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT A USG-DOMINATED NATO WOULD, IN THE EVENT OF A SOVIET ATTACK, COME TO THE DEFENSE OF A EUROPE INCREASINGLY TURNING LEFT AND FEELS THAT FRANCE NEEDS BI- AND MULTI-LATERAL ACCORDS WITH THE EAST IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD ITS SECURITY. THE MORE HARD-HEADED PS, WHILE AGREEING THAT SUCH ACCORDS MIGHT WELL BE USEFUL, INSISTS THAT NATO IS THE ONLY VIABLE COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE PACT.

-- ELECTORAL STRATEGY: THE PCF CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE PS COULD BE TEMPTED TO FORM SOME KIND OF ALLIANCE WITH GISCARD -- THIS IS USUALLY CALLED, IN PCF CANT, "THE REFORMIST TEMPTATION." THE PS, ON THE OTHER HAND, LOOKS WITH GREAT WARINESS AT PCF CLAIMS TO BE THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS, SEEING IN SUCH ARGUMENTS A HIGH TEMPTATION FOR MISCHIEF WHICH MIGHT LEAD THE PCF INTO PUSHING FOR TOO MUCH, TOO SOON, IN A UNITED LEFT GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE TO COME TO POWER IN AN ECONOMIC SITUATION FAR FROM IDEAL.

-- AUTOGESTION (WORKER MANAGEMENT): THE PS, WHICH HAS OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF WORKER MANAGEMENT, HAS NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO CONVINCE THE PCF TO DO SO. THE COMMUNISTS SEE IN AUTOGESTION A PERIPHERAL ISSUE WHICH DETRACTS FROM THE PRIMARY POLICY EFFORT. TOP SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP IS NOT KILLING ITSELF TO

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MAKE AUTOGESTION GO BUT THE PS LEFTWING WANTS IT BADLY, WANTS IT TO HAVE NATIONAL ATTENTION AND CAN BE COUNTED ON TO FIGHT HARD FOR AUTOGESTION BEFORE THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS.

2. THE ISSUES -- THE STATE OF PLAY: THE THREE PARTNERS HAVE BEEN LOCKED INTO A SEEMINGLY ENDLESS TECHNICAL DISCUSSION AMONG EXPERTS ON THE ISSUES NAMED ABOVE. ALTHOUGH NO ONE IS WILLING TO ADMIT THAT THE COMMON PROGRAM IS CURRENTLY BEING RE-WRITTEN (ALL THREE PARTIES TALK ABOUT "BRINGING THE COMMON PROGRAM UP TO DATE" OR "REACTUALIZATION"), IT IS HARDLY A SECRET THAT AT POMPIDOU'S DEATH THE COMMON PROGRAM WAS THE OBJECT OF FORMAL AND LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS. BROKEN OFF DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN 1974 AND SUSPENDED ALL DURING THE 1974-1975 PERIOD OF THE PS/PCF QUARRELS, THESE DISCUSSIONS BEGAN AGAIN LAST FALL. THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN VERY SLIM: ONE SENIOR PS OFFICIAL DESCRIBED HIS TALKS WITH HIS PCF COUNTERPART AS BEING "SOMEWHAT BETWEEN ROLLING SISYPHUS' ROCK UP THE HILL AND THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS -- NOTHING WILL HAPPEN UNTIL THERE IS SOME KIND OF AGREEMENT ON THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVELS OF THE PARTIES." WE BELIEVE THAT THE IMPETUS FOR SUCH AGREEMENT WILL PROBABLY NOT COME UNTIL A YEAR FROM NOW AS BOTH MAJOR PARTIES IN THE UNITED LEFT BEGIN TO WIND UP FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS OF 1978 AND CONFRONT THEIR VOTERS WITH THE HARD, PRACTICAL POLITICAL ALTERNATIVES TO THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT MAJORITY WHICH MITTERRAND BELIEVES CAN ONLY BE BEATEN THROUGH "MORE AND BETTER STATESMANSHIP."

3. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS -- TWO PLUS TWO DON'T ALWAYS MAKE FOUR: WHAT'S REALLY AT STAKE IN THE MUNICIPALS (MARCH, 1977) IS THE SURVIVAL OF THAT PART OF THE PS WHICH KEPT THE PARTY GOING ALL THROUGH THE LEAN YEARS FOLLOWING THE CRISIS OF IMPOTENCE WHICH BESET THE SFIO

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WITH THE ADVENT OF GAULLISM. THE PS, THANKS TO ITS EXTENSIVE CONTROL OF OR PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS ACROSS FRANCE, WAS ABLE TO KEEP TRAINING AND ATTRACTING YOUNGSTERS (WHO SAW THE PARTY AS A VEHICLE FOR POLITICAL MOBILITY), EXERCISE PATRONAGE AND, ABOVE ALL, MAINTAIN SOME SORT OF POLITICAL VIABILITY. OF THE 300 MEDIUM TO LARGE SIZE CITIES IN WHICH THE PS HAD AT LEAST A "CONTROLLING INTEREST," SLIGHTLY OVER HALF WERE GOVERNED BY PS/CENTER COALITIONS; THE OTHER HALF SAW THE PS AND PCF ASSOCIATED IN UNEASY MARRIAGE. DURING

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THIS PERIOD (WHICH CAN BE CONSIDERED AS COVERING THE
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PERIOD 1961-1976) THE PS (OR THE PRECURSOR SFIO) RARELY REPRESENTED MORE THAN 20 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL VOTE; THE PCF STEADILY HELD TO SLIGHTLY MORE THAN THAT FIGURE. THINGS HAVE CHANGED. LATEST POLLS CONFIRM THAT THE PS, JUDGED ON WHAT IT COULD TAKE IN A NATIONAL ELECTION TODAY, IS HOLDING AT OVER 30 PERCENT WHILE THE PCF IS STRUGGLING TO MAINTAIN A FULL 20 PERCENT. THAT MEANS THAT THE PS FEELS ITSELF FREE TO

- CAST OFF THE LAST VESTIGES OF ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE CENTER (EXCEPT IN FOUR OR FIVE CITIES WHERE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES INTERVENE);
- ARGUE THAT THE PCF WILL HAVE TO TAKE A BACK SEAT AND A MODEST PROPORTION OF THE SEATS AVAILABLE ON CERTAIN MUNICIPAL LISTS;
- ARGUE THAT ITS RECENT SHOWINGS (IN CANTONAL, REGIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE BY-ELECTIONS) ENTITLE IT TO A LARGER PROPORTION OF THE SEATS THAN WOULD ITS "HISTORIC RESULTS."

4. MUNICIPALS -- SETTLING WHO GETS WHAT: STARTING EARLY LAST SPRING PS AND PCF HAVE BEEN ARGUING OVER WHO GETS TO PUT WHAT NUMBER OF CANDIDATES ON A LIST HEADED BY A CANDIDATE OF WHICH PERSUASION. FOR ALMOST A YEAR STATISTICIANS FROM BOTH PARTIES HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR THE MOST PERSUASIVE TERRAIN ON WHICH TO BASE THEIR CLAIMS. WHERE A GIVEN PARTY DID WELL IN THE MARCH CANTONAL ELECTIONS, IT HAS A NATURAL TENDENCY TO BASE ITSELF ON THOSE RESULTS; WHERE IT DID POORLY IT HAS AN EQUALLY NATURAL TENDENCY TO LOOK BACKWARDS. BUT IN ALL OF THIS THE PS HAS A SLIGHT BUT DEFINITE EDGE: IT SUCCEEDED -- OR, TO BE MORE PRECISE, MITTERRAND SUCCEEDED - IN IMPOSING ON BOTH MAJOR PARTIES THE PRINCIPLE OF LOCAL AUTONOMY EXCEPT IN SPECIAL CASES. IN PRACTICE THIS MEANS THAT THE LEFT OF THE PS, WHICH PREACHES A TOTAL INTEGRATION OF LISTS WITH THE PCF, AND THE PCF HAVE BOTH BEEN THWARTED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPOSE JOINT

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PCF/PS LISTS BY DIKTAT AT THE NATIONAL PARTY LEADERSHIP LEVEL. AND THAT IN TURN MEANS THAT THE HISTORIC RIVALRIES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES, RIVALRIES WHICH DATE BACK FIFTY YEARS IN THE NORD-PAS-DE-CALAIS AND NEARLY A HUNDRED YEARS IN THE SOUTHWEST (TO A PERIOD WHEN NEITHER PARTY EXISTED BUT DURING WHICH TWO DISTINCT CURRENTS OF "SOCIALIST" THOUGHT EMERGED) WILL HAVE TO BE RESPECTED. LOCAL NOTABLES CAN AND ARE CLAIMING THEIR DUE; LOCAL PREJUDICE AND LOCAL JUDGMENT AS TO WHETHER PS VOTES ARE OR CAN BE TRANSFERABLE TO THE PCF CANDIDATES (AND VICE VERSA -- ALTHOUGH IT IS THE FIRST CASE WHICH IS

THE MORE IMPORTANT) WILL HAVE TO BE RESPECTED.

5. IN THE SHORT RUN, THERE ARE NO SALIENT ISSUES: WITH BOTH MAJOR PARTIES FOCUSSED TIGHTLY ON THE MUNICIPALS, NEITHER PARTY HAS AN INTEREST IN ROCKING THE BOAT BY FORCING A CONFRONTATION WITH THE OTHER OVER ANY OF THE TRULY DIVISIVE ISSUES. THE SALIENCY OF EUROPEAN QUESTIONS OR NATIONAL SECURITY QUESTIONS IS EXTREMELY LOW RIGHT NOW. BOTH PARTIES CAN THEREFORE AFFORD TO THROW SOPS TO THEIR VARIOUS WINGS-IN-NEED-OF-PLACATION. THUS IF MARCHAIS AND MITTERRAND AGREE TO ALLOW THEIR RESPECTIVE PARLIAMENTARY TROOPS TO VOTE IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS ON THE FUNDING BILL FOR EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, OR IF THE TWO GENERAL STAFFS AGREE TO LET THEIR TROOPS PUBLICLY DISAGREE ON NUCLEAR QUESTIONS, OR IF MARCHAIS DECIDES TO LAUNCH, OUT OF A CLEAR BLUE SKY, THE THOUGHT THAT THE PCF WILL RUN AN INDEPENDENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN 1981, THESE ACTIONS SHOULD BE SEEN PRIMARILY AS MANEUVERING WITHIN THE PARTY FOR INTERNAL REASONS. INTRA-PARTY DUES HAVE TO BE PAID IN ORDER TO ALLOW INTER-PARTY COOPERATION; WORDS, AS LONG AS THEY LEAD TO NO REPETITION OF THE 1975 CONFRONTATION, ARE THE CHEAPEST SORT OF DUES.

6. A LONGER TERM PERSPECTIVE: THESE ISSUES WILL RE-CONFIDENTIAL

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TURN TO ROOST AFTER THE MUNICIPALS NEXT SPRING. THE HARDEST NUT TO CRACK WILL BE EUROPE AND VOTING ON THE FORM AND PROCESS OF ELECTING A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. CURRENTLY SCHEDULED FOR THE SPRING OF 1977, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEBATE ON THIS QUESTION IS GOING TO POSE, IN THE SPACE OF A VERY SHORT TIME, A NUMBER OF CLASSIC PROBLEMS FOR THE LEFT. THE MOST OBVIOUS OF THESE IS THE COMMUNIST BELIEF THAT THERE WILL BE A NATURAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN PCF AND SOME GAULLISTS (RPR) IN THEIR RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT ANY FURTHER INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF EUROPE. WHILE FAR FROM ALL GAULLISTS AND NOT ALL

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COMMUNISTS ARE AGAINST SUCH MOVES, THE PCF BELIEVES THAT
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THERE WILL BE AN OBVIOUS COMMUNITY OF INTEREST WHICH
MAY MAKE FOR INTERESTING PARLIAMENTARY ALLIANCES.
(COMMENT: CHIRAC HAS TWICE MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN
DECEMBER THAT THE MAJORITY WILL BE ABLE TO WORK OUT
ITS OWN DIFFERENCES OVER EUROPE, THUS LEADING US
TO BELIEVE THAT MOST GAULLIST DEPUTIES WILL FOLLOW THE
PRESIDENT'S LEAD ON THE QUESTION OF A EUROPEAN PARLIA-
MENT ELECTED THROUGH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. END COMMENT).
A SUBSIDIARY ASPECT OF THIS PROBLEM WHICH WILL CONCERN

THE PS FAR MORE THAN THE PCF WILL BE THE EXTENT TO WHICH MITTERRAND AND HIS MAJORITY WITHIN THE PS WILL BE ABLE TO MUSTER SUPPORT FOR THEIR PRO-EUROPEAN POSITIONS. WHILE IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN INCONCEIVABLE A YEAR AGO THAT MITTERRAND'S LEADERSHIP ON ANY GIVEN ISSUE MIGHT RECEIVE A NUMERICALLY SERIOUS CHALLENGE, THAT IS NOT TRUE ON EUROPE. SEVERAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTE TO THIS:

- PARTY OPINION: WHILE EVERYONE CONCEDES THAT THERE IS NO PRESENT ALTERNATIVE TO MITTERRAND AS PS LEADER, MANY PS LEADERS (AND SOME AMONG THE PARTY'S MOST SENIOR NATIONAL SECRETARIES) BELIEVE THAT MITTERRAND MUST BE CONTINUOUSLY QUESTIONED ON THE EUROPEAN ISSUE BECAUSE OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE.
- FACTIONALIZATION: AS LONG AS MITTERRAND COULD LIMIT HIMSELF TO INVEIGHING AGAINST CERES THERE WAS LITTLE DANGER THAT HE WOULD EVER DROP MUCH BELOW 65 PERCENT OF THE PARTY'S MANDATES. BUT WITH THE ADVENT OF SUCH GROUPS AS POUR L'UNION (PIERRE JOXE), LE CONGRES ANIMATED BY A GROUP OF FORMER SFIO FIGURES) AND WITH THE QUESTIONING OF CERTAIN MAJOR FIGURES ON THE LEFT (JEAN DANIEL AND MICHEL ROCARD, INTER ALIA) IT IS NOT CLEAR THAT MITTERRAND COULD COUNT ON A MAJORITY OF THE PARTY'S MANDATES IN AN OPEN CONGRESS UNLESS REPEAT UNLESS HE WERE WILLING TO TIE CONTI-

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NUED LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY TO A VOTE.

- GERMANOPHOBIA: TO MANY SOCIALISTS, EUROPE AND ALL OF ITS INSTITUTIONS ARE A TRAP IN WHICH FRANCE WILL BECOME THE MORE OR LESS INNOCENT VICTIM OF THE FRG. THE EXTENT TO WHICH GERMANOPHOBIA -- OFTEN LINKED TO THE IDEA THAT THE FRG IS TOTALLY SUBSERVIENT TO USG WILL -- IS A FACTOR IN ANTI-EUROPEAN THINKING IN THE PS CANNOT BE OVERSTATED.

7. EUROPE -- A WAY OUT: MANY OF MITTERRAND'S PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED IF HE COULD GET THE GOF TO ADMIT THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION (PR) WILL BE THE RULE FOR ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. PR IS A PRIZE AFTER WHICH THE LEFT HAS BEEN CHASING FOR YEARS IN FRANCE AND WE BELIEVE THAT IF MITTERRAND GOT ASSURANCES FROM THE GOF THAT PR WOULD BE INSTALLED FOR THESE ELECTIONS, HE MIGHT FIND IT EASIER TO WORK AT SELLING PARTICIPATION IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT TO THE CERES AND PCF. AFTER ALL, THE PCF, AS ONE JOURNALIST PUT IT RECENTLY, "HAS TO PROVE ITS EUROCOMMUNISM THROUGH

FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE EUROPEAN PART OF THAT WORD.
BREAKING A LONG-STANDING RECORD OF OPPOSITION TO THE EC
AND TO EUROPEANISM WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP IN GAINING
CREDIBILITY." WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT
THE PCF WILL NOT VOTE FOR ANY EC MEASURE.

8. THE FATE OF THE OTHER ISSUES: IN ABEYANCE -- AL-
THOUGH CAREFULLY WATCHED THROUGH THE FRENCH BINOCULARS
FOCUSSED ON WASHINGTON AND THE TRANSITION -- ARE THE
OTHER MAJOR ISSUES. AFTER THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WE
BELIEVE THAT THE TOP-LEVEL POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL
BEGIN. UNTIL THEN THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEES OF LIAISON
ON THE LEFT WILL MEET AND NOTHING WILL COME OF IT ALL.

9. THE PCF AND MITTERRAND'S "STATESMANSHIP": WHILE THE
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COMMUNISTS, EVER LEERY OF THE REFORMIST TEMPTATION TO
WHICH THEY FEEL THE PS IS ALWAYS EXPOSED, ARE SUSPICIOUS
WITH DEMONSTRATIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY ON MITTERRAND'S
PART, THEY ARE BITING HARD ON THE BULLET. SOME OF THE
DEMOGRAPHIC REASONS FOR THAT WERE SUGGESTED IN PARIS'
35047; TO THE EXTENT THAT THE PCF HOPES TO PROFIT IN A
GENERAL UPTICK ON THE LEFT, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO GRIT
THEIR TEETH. NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN, HOWEVER, IS THAT
MARCHAIS CONTINUES TO SEND WARNINGS TO THE PS: WHENEVER
MARCHAIS BRINGS STILL ANOTHER PORTION OF HIS PARTY INTO
THE POST-22ND CONGRESS POSTURE (AS HE RECENTLY DID WITH

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THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS - MJC), OR WHENEVER HE CRITICIZES
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OR ALLOWS TO BE CRITICIZED ONE OF THE EASTERN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, HE IS SAYING TO THE PS THAT PCF CLAIMS TO LEGITIMACY MUST BE RESPECTED, THAT PCF "FACE" HAS TO BE SAVED. IF HE IS WILLING TO PLAY THE ELECTORAL GAME RIGHT NOW UNDER RULES WHICH APPEAR TO GIVE A SLIGHT EDGE TO THE PS, THERE WILL BE A RECKONING TO BE PAID LATER ON -- AND LATER ON IS THE PREPARATION OF THE 1978 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS.

10. COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION: THE UNITED LEFT, WHICH STAYS TOGETHER MAINLY OUT OF ELECTORAL NEED, IS NOT LIKELY TO BREAK UP PRIOR TO THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, DURING THEM, OR IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING. THERE MAY BE OCCASIONAL DISPLAYS OF BAD MANNERS OR SIMPLE PIQUE (E.G., IF SUFFICIENTLY ANGERED, THE PCF MAY DECIDE TO RUN A TOP-NOTCH CANDIDATE AGAINST PIERRE MAUROY IN LILLE OR AGAINST GASTON DEFFERRE IN MARSEILLE), THERE ARE SURE TO BE CASES WHERE BOTH PARTIES WILL TURN A BLIND EYE TO MRG BUNDLING WITH THE CENTER, BUT IN THE

MAIN, THE UNITED LEFT HOPES TO CONTINUE TO HOLD SOME-
THING OVER HALF OF FRANCE'S CITY HALLS. WHETHER THAT
CAN BE DONE OR NOT IS ALMOST IRRELEVANT TO THE CURRENT
SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED LEFT -- WHAT WILL
COUNT IN THE SHORT TERM IS WHETHER THE THREE PARTIES
TOGETHER CAN SHOW GAINS OVER WHAT THEY HAVE OR COULD
HAVE HOPED TO GAIN INDEPENDENTLY. FROM THAT EVALUATION
WILL COME THE HARD DECISIONS ABOUT UNITED LEFT UNITY IN
THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS. BUT FOR THE TIME BEING THERE
ARE TWO THINGS BASIC TO UNDERSTANDING THE UNITED LEFT:

- IT IS HOLDING IN SPITE OF SOME CENTRIPETAL
TEMPTATIONS;
- IT IS HOPING FOR SOMETHING OVER 52 PERCENT
OF THE VOTES.

RUSH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, PARTY LINE, PARTY UNITY, COMMUNISTS, PARTY ALLIANCE, PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PARIS37459
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760466-1120
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761228/aaaaaxwz.tel
Line Count: 669
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 APR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <06 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS -- PREPARING FOR CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, FR, (MITTERRAND, FRANCOIS), (MARCHAIS, GEORGES)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006